1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 he saw a Fox enter the mill, go to the trough and take out the flour. The Miller came out of his hiding place, seized the Fox, and began to belabour him with his stick. The Fox yelped, and said to the Miller, "Let me go, and I will woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt!"

"I am a Miller," was the reply. "How wilt thou woo for me the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt?"

Said the Fox, "Kill me not, and I will indeed woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. If I fail to do so, then thou mayest kill me."

"Thou must take thine oath upon it," said the Miller.

So the Fox swore to the Miller, and the Miller let him go.

The Fox set off, and by-and-by he arrived in Egypt. When he came into the presence of the Pasha, he saluted him most courteously, and the Pasha said to the Fox, "Tell me thy desire."

The Fox replied, "Sire, have I your permission to speak?"

"Thou hast."

"Then," said the Fox, "My master, Temteqa Pasha, seeks the hand of thy daughter."

The Pasha of Egypt replied, "Take horsemen with you, and go to meet this Temteqa Pasha, who may be some Vizier, but whose name I do not know."

"Sire," said the Fox, "give me a suit of clothes,[1] and I will take it to Temteqa Pasha. But do not send your soldiers out to meet him before two days

[1] Presents of apparel are very common in the East, and are frequently mentioned in folk-tales.

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. 177

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291
the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Feisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [668]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsman. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because al- [431]
most any garment is passed through the family until finally [735]
worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

565 571 647 [431] 875 571 565 626

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

647 565 177

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mpt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case 576 [754]
smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the 431 576
ner to present the item in question to the admirer as a
ift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-
ticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion.
he second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference
a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two per-
ons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they
ill stand before the door, bowing each other in, until
ne seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by
ain force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco.
f one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring
ut his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is
n exchange. An identical process is gone through in
ighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as
wo men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigar-
ttes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners,
re less punctilious in these matters than the officials,
nd suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have 571 562
een largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the [114]
nvestigator confesses to some failing in treating that of
omen. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine
ociety on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with
uthority, a deficit of information which could easily be
illed by an observer of the female sex. However, it is
ossible to make a number of valid observations which must

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayiani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowandus is Jayiani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come.

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Helaywat Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '80s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 150 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[118], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[119] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[120]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[153], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

788 771 in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3–4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

788 431 The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious 785 fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramaḍān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

788 [489] 781 562 For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Balkha, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

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841 *Uncleanliness.* During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[714] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Naupurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

• [731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so. 342 574 622

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 431 •

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Walash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Nauperdan. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (36 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 556 622

esteem demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Agha's daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsmen considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Moslem usage the mourning ceremonies of the Kurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Walash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammad, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Walash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammad heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (36 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kurdiya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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765 574 .431 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I am aware the ceremonial consideration is similar in the case of commoner families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 535 431 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.